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16th century Mahdism The Rawṣāniya movement among Pakhtun tribes

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Introduction

The 16th century is characterized as a period of massive political upheavals from the Maghreb to India. It was a time when new movements - local and regional - arose due to several changes of power in the Islamic world. There was a demand of new institutions as well as new cosmologies.¹ These movements were mostly of Sufic nature - mingled with popular sentiments often manifested in the foundation of mystical orders which spread like mushrooms, especially from the 13th century onwards.² They, thus, filled the vacuum which had evolved when Shia-chiliastic³ powers decayed. They were able to establish new identities and brought forward new charismatic figures reflecting the qualities of the *insān kāmil*, the Perfect Man, or the *quṭb*, the pole. Some important activities of the Shia and Ismailis can be observed in this period in Turkey and Iran (specially Khurasan) as well as in northern and central Africa. These activities also brought about the phenomena of the 'Saviour', the *mahdī*. It was also the time, when an influx of Iranian intelligentsia to India took place in the wake of the Shia's oppression following Šāh Tahmāsp's death in 1576.⁴

In Mughal India as well, different local sects and movements aimed at regional autonomy by raising a new consciousness among the respective social groups. This new consciousness mostly led to confrontations with the imperial power on a political and military level. Here, too, a mushroom growth of different religious sects could be observed - orthodox as well as syncretistic and Sufic - in

¹ In the following an attempt is made to elaborate on the social history and the ideology of the Rawṣāniya movement while special reference is made to its community-building process. Due to lack of theoretical framework which could combine social base and ideology it is difficult - at the present stage of research and investigation - to work out a comprehensive social history of the movement. Hence, the reader may come across interpretative shortcomings or contradictions. The interpretations given must therefore be regarded as primary efforts of categorization, based mainly on secondary sources documenting the history of the Rawṣāniya.

² For a study on Sufi orders cf. Trimmingham, J.S.: *Sufi orders in Islam*. - Oxford, 1971 and Hodgson, M.G.S.: *The venture of Islam* 2. - Chicago, 1974, ch. 4. The orders were the main vehicles for the propagation of Islam in the peripheries of the Muslim world due to their capability to assimilate local thoughts and customs.

³ For a biased classification of chiliastic movements cf. f.e. Mühlmann, Wilhelm E.: *Chiliasmus und Nativismus*. - Berlin, 1960.

⁴ Ikram, Šaiḥ Muḥammad: *Rūd-e Kawṭar; islāmī hind awr pākistān kī maḡhabī awr 'ilmī tāriḥ*, 'uḡd-e muḡliyah. - Lahore, 1984⁹, pp. 33 f.

the shape of Sikhism, the Bhakti movement, different Sufi orders, or Akbar's (1556-1605) *Dīn-e Illāhī*.⁵ Finally, it was the end of the first Islamic millennium which facilitated the call for a new establishment, culminating in the Naqṣbandī 'reaction' and Aḥmad Sirhindī's (1564-1624) *waḥdat al-ṣuhūd* (Unity of the Phenomena).⁶

The establishment of the Mughal empire was characterized by its military struggle which aimed at consolidating the peripheries of the Indian sub-continent, *inter alia* the Afghan border.⁷ In fact, the north-western regions displayed a fair degree of autonomy and were to cause much of a headache to the imperial rulers for several decades. This was particularly true, since the Mughals maintained a flourishing economy, connecting the region with Central Asia and Iran as well as with Europe.⁸ Pacifying trade routes via the Khyber Pass, Kabul and Kandahar was thus very crucial, as it was these routes on which the main import goods such as horses and bullion as well as major export goods were transported.⁹ The economic strategies were flanked by reforms of religious and administrative departments with the aim to establish a semi-religious administrative system legitimizing Mughal rule.¹⁰ The Mughal Emperor Akbar, in order to consolidate his power, deemed it proper to envisage a new religion which was to integrate all different streams of thought. He created the eclectic 'Religion of God'. His main target was, however, to maintain his worldly strength through religious legitimation.¹¹

⁵ A brief account of these sects and movements is given f.e. in Ahmad, Aziz: *Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment*. - Oxford: Oxford University Press 1966² and Ikram: *Rūd-e kawṭar*. See also Rizvi, S.A.A.: *Muslim revivalist movements in northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth century*. - Lucknow, 1965.

⁶ For a hagiography of the Naqṣbandīs cf. Tukallī, Muḥammad Nūrbahāṣ: *Taḍkirah-e maṣā'ih-e naqṣbandīya*. - Lahore: Ma'ṣūm Akīdīmī 1976². For Sirhindī cf. Friedmann, Yohanan: *Ṣayḥ Aḥmad Sirhindī; An outline of his thought and a study of his image in the eyes of posterity*. - Montreal 1971; Ikram: *Rūd-e kawṭar*, pp. 222-342, and Rizvi: *Revivalist movements*, ch. 5-8.

⁷ See f.e. the account of Nawāz Ḥān, Ṣāh: *Ma'āṭir al-umarā'*. / Urdu tr. Muḥammad Ayūb Qādirī. - Lahore: Markazī Urdū Bōrd, 1968; Elliot, H.M.: *The history of India*. - Calcutta, 1959³.

⁸ Moosvi, Shireen: *The economy of the Mughal empire*. - Oxford: Oxford University Press 1987. Although the emperors had tried to bring the north-western area under their political control, their actual influence there was "largely theoretical" in nature (*op. cit.*, p. 62).

⁹ Naturally other important routes existed as well, especially by sea. Cf. Moosvi: *The economy*, pp. 319-385.

¹⁰ See also Bilgrami, Rafat M.: *Religious and quasi-religious departments of the Mughal period (1556-1707)*. - New Delhi 1984. On the styling of Akbar as a charismatic figure cf. Hardy, Peter: *Islamischer Patrimonialismus: Die Mogulherrschaft*. in: *Max Webers Sicht des Islam*. / ed. W. Schluchter. - Frankfurt a.M. 1987, pp. 190-216; also Blake, Stephen P.: *The patrimonial-bureaucratic empire of the Mughal*. in: *Journal of Asian studies* 39, 1979.1, pp. 77-94.

¹¹ Agarwal, Ashvini: *Studies in Mughal history*. - Delhi 1983, pp. 111-134.

In contrast to this state-centred policy of the Mughals, the Rawṣaniya was one of those movements calling for a new social order among the Pakhtuns and the Afghans. These groups had special control over the important trade routes to Kabul and Central Asia. The movement formed part of the Islamic traditions then *en vogue* - especially among non-orthodox forces.

Most of the contributions on the Rawṣaniya so far are mainly based on historiographical works of Mughal contemporary writers. These writers were particularly biased, since their writing was based on documents of the court. The documents reflected the new political and administrative policies of Akbar. In order to sustain his politics, in 1579 Akbar had ordered that all important letters and decrees should be drafted in an increasingly propagandistic style.¹² With this new epistolography he intended to impress the Muslim elite. Conforming to Akbar's directive, the Mughal historiographers adopted a polemic style: they called *inter alia* rebellious or unsubmissive groups like f.e. the Rawṣanis and Yusufzais¹³ enemies of the *ṣarī'a* who were working against Akbar, the 'leader' of the Muslims. This attitude also served to pacify Muslim orthodoxy who considered the Rawṣaniya heretics.¹⁴ The writings of the 16th and 17th century¹⁵ were the starting point for later historiography on the Rawṣanis. The movement could not shun its stigma to be 'heretic' until today.¹⁶ But even such a reputation did not prevent in more recent times the movement being recalled as an emancipative force in the service of Islam. It was even referred to as a historic predecessor of current political independence forces: One example is the nationalistic orthodox

¹² Rizvi, S.A.A.: *Religion and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*. - New Delhi 1975, p. 302.

¹³ This is a very influential Pakhtun tribe.

¹⁴ Rizvi: *Religion*, pp. 336 f.

¹⁵ These are *Muntaḥib al-Tawārīḥ* by Badāyūnī, *Ma'āṭir al-umarā'* by Šāh Nawāz Ḥān, '*Ain-e Akbarī* and *Akbarnāmah* by Abū al-Faḍl, *Ṭabaqāt-e Akbarī* by Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad Baḥā'ī, and *Maḥzan al-Islām* by the arch-enemy of Bāyazīd Anṣārī, Mawlānā Aḥūd Darwēza (d. 1638). In contrast to these sources *Dabistān-e maḍāhib* by Muḥsin Fānī (d. 1670) is, however, a refreshing exception to the sober orthodox views.

Noer, F.A. v.: *Kaiser Akbar*. - Leiden 1885, pp. 179-219; Leyden, J.: On the Rosheniah sect and its founder, Bayezid Ansari. in: *Asiatic researches* 11, 1812, pp. 363-428 and Ikram have based their contributions on these sources. Cf. also Bhanu, Dharma: The Raushania movement and the Mughals. in: *Islamic culture* 26, 1952.2, pp. 57-67, and Ḥasan, Sibṭ-e: *Pākistān mēn taḥqīq kā irtiqā'*. - Karachi 1984³, pp. 310-315. The present work is based on these secondary sources. The brief account of Ahmed, Tariq: *Religio-political ferment in the N.W. frontier during the Mughal period. The Raushaniya movement*. - Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delhi, 1982 was not available to me when writing this article.

¹⁶ Even in recent times this chiliastic movement has been labelled an heretic outcome of tribal society. Compare Ahmed, Akbar S.: *Millennium and charisma among the Pathans. A critical essay in social anthropology*. - London: Routledge & Kegan 1976, p. 78.

powers in contemporary Pakistan who regard the Rawṣāniya movement as a first attempt of national struggle for Pakistan, and, in fact, as a forerunner of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the 'Father of the Nation'.¹⁷ A second parallel between the Rawṣāniya movement and recent political struggle for independence is drawn in the context of the Afghan fight against Soviet impact in Afghanistan, in which Bāyazīd, the founder of the Rawṣāniya, is, apparently, heroized. This means that old movements are revitalized in order to mobilize the *muğāhidīn*, no matter which thoughts and ideas the Rawṣāniya movement actually fostered. Originally, the orthodox upholders of Islamic tradition had been the ones who had called the movement a heresy. Now, similar orthodox forces were praising it as a national movement against atheism and for the establishment of a just and Islamic society.

There is only one study on the Bāyazīd movement which would not lean on the biased Mughal sources.¹⁸ None of the studies, however, have tried to focus on the movement's role within the Afghan history and within the broader Islamic context. The movement has been interpreted as an Afghan branch of the *Suhrawardīya*¹⁹ on the one hand, and a Shia-Isma'ili influenced order with elements of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (existential monism) on the other.²⁰ This paper attempts to systematize the features of the movement and elaborate on its importance for the Afghans *vis à vis* the Mughal empire. By examining its contribution to the Islamic world, the trans-regional context is highlighted as well. (See also footnote 1).

Bāyazīd, his life and his political theology

Born in 1525 in Jullundur/Punjab into a family of Afghan orthodox Sunni Muslims, Bāyazīd Anṣārī and his family moved to Kaniguram in Waziristan, the native place of his father Šaiḥ 'Abd Allāh Qandahārī, before completing the first 40 days of Bāyazīd's life.²¹ This change of abode was due to the Afghan dyna-

¹⁷ Cf. Rašīd, 'Abd al-: *Taḥrīk-e Rawṣāniyah awr Qiyām-e Pākistān*. in: *al-Ḥaqq, Dār al-'Ulūm Ḥaqqānīyah* 17, 1982.12, pp. 15-21. Although this article does not actually represent the opinion of this rather fundamentalist *Dār al-'Ulūm*, nevertheless, a platform for discussion on this 'heresy' was established. For this *Dār al-'Ulūm* in particular cf. Malik, S. Jamal: *Islamisierung in Pakistan, 1977-84; Untersuchungen zur Auflösung autochthoner Strukturen*. - Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1989, pp. 299 ff. *et passim*.

¹⁸ Cf. Rizvi, S.A.A.: Rawṣāniyya Movement. in: *Abr-Nahrain* 6, 1965-1966, pp. 63-91 and 7, 1967-1968, pp. 62-98. This study is based on works of Bāyazīd and other primary material.

¹⁹ *El'* (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*) (German edition) 4, p. 726 b.

²⁰ v. Noer: *Akbar*; Leyden: *Bayezid Ansari*; Rizvi: *Rawṣāniyya*.

²¹ The following account is based on the articles Rawṣāniya and Bāyazīd in the *El'* (German ed.), Bāyazīd in the *El'* (Engl. ed.) and the Urdu edition of *El'*. Other sources are given in footnotes 15-18. The historical data on Bāyazīd eventually varies. E.g. Ikram mentions that Bāyazīd was seven years old when his family moved to Kaniguram (*Rūd-e kawṭar*, p. 44). For

sty's replacement by the Mughals. Later on, as a result of the divorce of his father from his mother Biban, the seven year old boy must have undergone some psychologically disturbing situations: Without his mother he now became a victim of his step-mother's and step-brother's capriciousness. Actually he was to carry on his father's tradition of being an *'ālim* (theologian) and a *qāḍī*, thereby upholding orthodox tenets. Hence, Bāyazīd finished his Quranic studies with a *ḥalīfa* (deputy) of his father and studied various books on *fiqh* and *masā'il* (legal problems). As he reproached his father for his earlier divorce, he ceased family ties, married the daughter of his uncle Šaiḥ Ḥusain, and became a trader and agriculturalist.

Since his very childhood he had been looking for a father figure who could lead him sincerely and show him the way out of the superstition of the *mulla*, *ṣūfī*, *qāḍī* and out of the perennial quarrels of the Muslims and the tribals. Thus, in religious matters, Bāyazīd started to consult the ascetic Ḥawājah Ismā'il Anṣārī, son of his paternal uncle Ḥudādād, to whom he was dearly attached and who had supported him earlier. This paternal cousin was busy propagating certain extraordinary doctrines in his home village. He was most probably associated with the *malāmatī* (blameworthy ones) tradition of al-Bistāmī (d. 875).²² Neither Bāyazīd's affiliation to his cousin Ismā'il nor to his teachings were appreciated by his father 'Abd Allāh who instead advised his son to become a *murīd* (disciple) of the Suhrawardī Šaiḥ Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariya (1182-1267) in Multan,²³ and stood in the Sufi tradition of al-Junaid (d. 910).²⁴ The paternal refusal might have had two reasons. Firstly, he wanted his son to follow the al-Junaidī tradition, which corresponded with his own more orthodox approach as well as with his ethnic background: being an Arab he derived his own *isnād* (ascription) or *silṣila* (chain

the family-tree of Bāyazīd cf. appendix.

²² Ismā'il was the son of Bāyazīd's uncle Ḥudādād, whom he liked most (cf. Rizvi: *Rawṣanīyya* 5, pp. 64-70). It seems that this ascetic (Ismā'il) followed the Khurasanian line of al-Bistāmī (d. 875), which is characterized by *ḡalaba* (extasy), *sukr* (intoxication), *farā'id* (own rituals) and *al-dīkr al-ḥāfī* (mental, occult recollection) as well as heterodox doctrines. For *malāmatī* cf. also Trimmingham: *Sufi orders*, pp. 264-269 *et passim*. Also Hartmann, R.: As-Sulamī's *Risālat al-Malāmatīja*. in: *Der Islam* 8, 1918, pp. 157-203 and al-Hujwiri, 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Jullābi: *Kashf al-Mahjub*. / tr. R.A. Nicholson. - Lahore, 1953, pp. 62-69 *et passim*.

²³ *Ikrām: Rūd-e kawṭar*, p. 44 f. For the *silṣila* of the Suhrawardīya cf. Trimmingham: *Sufi orders*, p. 29 a and Appendix C.

²⁴ The Junaidī-Iraqian tradition was characterized by acceptance of *ṣarī'a*, *dīkr* and support of *tawakkul* (trust in God) as well as soberness and rejection of intoxication (*sukr*). Because of these virtues this tradition was opposed little by the orthodoxy, rather, it was accepted by them. For al-Junaid cf. Abdel Kader, A.H.: *The life, personality and writings of al-Junayd*. - (Gibb Memorial Series 14) - London, 1962. For the al-Junaidī school of mysticism and the al-Bistāmī line cf. also Trimmingham: *Sufi orders*, ch. 1 and pp. 32, 51-52, 71, 117, 156, 190, 222.

of spiritual descent) from Abū Bakr, the first caliph.²⁵ Secondly, he considered it a matter of honour (*nang*),²⁶ that his son should not follow his cousin. The existing agnatic rivalry between paternal cousins, especially on account of heritage prevalent in the Pakhtun code,²⁷ is responsible for this view.

In these mountain areas, tribes like Mohmands and Afridis, where the Rawṣāniya later became most popular, were characterized by an organization along egalitarian lines. This organizational pattern displayed features of the category of *nang* which was in accordance with the *paḥtūnwalī* (Pakhtun moral code) having tribal boundaries. They represented stateless and 'ordered anarchies', where power was decentralized. The economy was part-pastoral, part-agricultural and the land was not irrigated. Possession of land was synonymous to power. There were neither large towns nor large markets. This socio-geographical environment had repercussions on culture and language which was, according to Ahmed, basically 'rough'. The social order was characterized by unorthodoxy, like the 'Roshani heresy'. In contrast to these regions there were the *qalang* (rent, tax) oriented tribes, such as the Yusufzais, who had large irrigated lands and a 'redistributive economic interaction' reflecting subordinate and superordinate social relations visible in a hierarchical agricultural system. The *qalang* area was culturally rich and urbane while the language was refined and the norms built on orthodox, standard, formal and literate patterns. Thus, according to this view, the reaction to the '*nang*-oriented' Rawṣāniya later came from these regions, particularly supported by the Yusufzais.²⁸ These different social structures were, apparently, reflected in two Sufi traditions as well - the al-Junaid and al-Bistāmī schools, which clashed here in the mountains. Bāyazīd had begun to try to transcend the traditional tribal boundaries for the sake of a new social order built on just and egalitarian principles.²⁹

Bāyazīd was very much interested in religious affairs and strictly observed the divine worship as it was set out by *ṣarī'a*. His interest in further religious studies was, however, frustrated by his family members who were bound to orthodox conservative theology and mysticism. Nevertheless, he kept on studying thoughts which were rejected by local '*ulamā*' and chiefs who regarded them to be non-Islamic, particularly, because they challenged the *status quo* of power structure.

²⁵ It had become fashionable among Sufis to recur to the first four caliphs especially in order to legitimize their identities in respect of the orthodox '*ulamā*' who were annoyed about Sufic movements.

²⁶ For the concept of *nang* see Ahmed: *Millennium*, pp. 35, 46, 59, 73-83, 89, 130.

²⁷ For this *tabūrwalī* cf. Ahmed: *Millennium*, pp. 43 ff.

²⁸ Cf. Ahmed: *Millennium*, pp. 74 ff.

²⁹ As will be argued below, similar thoughts remind very much of Ismaili principles for a new society. Cf. also Nagel, Tilman: *Frühe Ismailiya und Fatimiden im Lichte der Risālat Iftitāh ad-da'wa*. - (Bonner Orientalische Studien 23). - Bonn, 1972, pp. 20 ff.

When he was sixteen, he accompanied his father on one of his trade journeys. Later, Bāyazīd himself undertook trade journeys from Samarkand to Allahabad which provided him with a living through dealing with horses from Samarkand to Hindustan via Kabul.³⁰ These activities must have acquainted him with the economic habits and strategies of the Mughals.³¹ It is also quite likely that he came in touch with the influential Naqšbandiyya order in Transoxania on the one hand³² and the rising Ḥalwatiyya order on the other³³ - both deriving their *silsilas* from al-Bistāmī. Interestingly, Bāyazīd's teachings reflect tenets of both these orders: The strict meditation and *al-dīkr al-ḥāfī* as well as the political consciousness incorporated in his Rawšaniyya, have their parallels in the Naqšbandiyya; individual asceticism (*zuhd*) and retreat (*ḥalwa*),³⁴ strict discipline as well as ascetic association in the *malāmātī* tradition of the Ḥalwatiyya have their striking parallels in Bāyazīd's later teachings. Even one of the Ḥalwati *pīrs*, Dede 'Umar Aydinī (d. 1487), was known by the *nisba* of Rawšanī and there was an Egyptian branch of Ḥalwatiyya later called Rawšanīyya.³⁵

Bāyazīd then met Mullā Sulaimān in Kālinjar, an Ismailī preacher and *dā'ī*³⁶ (missionary). It is said, that Sulaimān taught him the basics of his faith, stressing the concept of *pīr-e kāmīl* (perfect leader) and *ta'wīl* (esoteric interpretation of the divine text). The *dā'ī*, thus, became his teacher³⁷ after Bāyazīd had repented

³⁰ v. Noer: *Akbar*, p. 185.

³¹ According to recent calculations, over 75% of the horses in imperial stables were imported from abroad. In total "1.000 Persian and 21.000 Turki horses must have been brought every year to supply the cavalry needs of Akbar's empire" via Kabul. There was also similar trade via Kandahar (cf. Moosvi: *The economy*, pp. 376 ff.).

³² For a brief history of this *malāmātī* order cf. Algar, Hamid: The Naqšbandi order: a preliminary survey of its history and significance. in: *Studia Islamica* 44, 1977, pp. 123-152 and Trimmingham: *Sufi orders*, *passim*.

³³ On the Ḥalwatiyya cf. Martin, B.G.: A short history of the Khalwati order of dervishes. in: *Scholars, saints, and Sufis*. / ed. Nikki R. Keddie. - Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978, pp. 275-305 and Trimmingham: *Sufi orders*, especially pp. 74-78 and 189 f.

³⁴ For *ḥalwa* as a mystical approach cf. *EI*⁸ 4, pp. 990 f.

³⁵ Cf. Martin: *Khalwati order*, especially pp. 278, 290 f., 295. Also *EI*⁷ (German ed.) 4, p. 726 B.

³⁶ He was called *mulhid* - the term used for Ismailī - by orthodox Muslims, f.e. Aḥūnd Darwēza, the most outspoken enemy of Bāyazīd (cf. v. Noer: *Akbar*, p. 185).

It was not only a matter of theology between orthodoxy and Ismailis but also a matter of power: The latter had proclaimed a new order and challenged the *status quo* through mobilizing institutions like *ḡihād*, *da'wa* and *mahdī* since the times of the Fatimide dynasty.

³⁷ As will be elaborated below, there are, in fact, quite a number of similarities between this school of thought (Ismailis) and the Rawšanīyya order. The affinities with the Ismailis do not really collide with Naqšbandī perceptions. Although the latter were not in favour of the Shia thoughts, they, nevertheless, shared some sympathies for 'Alī.

(*tawba*),³⁸ the first step towards mystical experience. Not only was Bāyazīd's mind formed by Shia-Isma'ili doctrines during these years. He also was very much impressed by the teachings of *yogīs* and the conception of re-incarnation.³⁹

When he returned to Kaniguram, Bāyazīd himself became an ascetic, staying most of the time secluded in an underground cave (*ḥalwāt*), meditating, fasting and strictly following the five pillars of Islam.⁴⁰ Like Prophet Muḥammad, Bāyazīd now claimed to receive *ilhām* (inspiration) and *wahī* (esoteric revelation given to prophets through the medium of angels). He dreamt of Ḥidr, the legendary leader (*walī*) of the mystics, who was to the saints what Jibrīl had been to the Prophet. In his dream, Ḥidr offered him the water of life (*āb-e hayāt*), thereby making him 'immortal'. This was his initiation into a mystical path:

"Visions of the Prophet and al-Khaḍir were the decisive point in the authorization of an illuminate to strike out along his own way. They were a convenient way of obtaining permission from long-dead Sufis to teach their doctrines and *awrād* [i.e. litanies, J.M.], thus leading some people to assume the continuity of line from al-Junaid or another early Sufi."⁴¹

³⁸ Rizvi: *Rawṣanīyya* 6, p. 70.

³⁹ This not only implied re-incarnation of human beings and souls but also the incarnation of God in man (*ḥulūl*). Here we may find the theories of identification (*ittiḥād*) and of incarnation (*ḥulūl*) as were propagated by al-Junaid (d. 910) and al-Hallaj (d. 922) and were elaborated upon by Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 1240), who himself was influenced by Hindu thought. For the latter cf. f.e. Affī, A.A.: *The mystical philosophy of Muhyid-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī*. - Cambridge, 1936, and Husaini, S.A.Q.: *The pantheistic monism of Ibn al-'Arabī*. - Lahore, 1970, and Ibn 'Arabī, Muḥī'd-Dīn: *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*. / German tr. Hans Kofler. - Graz, 1970.

⁴⁰ It is said that he planned to stay in this cave for five years. Cf. Rizvi: *Rawṣanīyya* 6, p. 74.

The ascetic exercises were in consonance with some principles of the Ḥalwātīya and Naqṣbandīya, like ascetism and seclusion, *ḥalwa* and *chillā* as well as *ḍikr-e ḥāfī*. Thus, one may recognize a fusion of 'fundamentalist' Sufi thoughts (Naqṣbandīya) and 'popular' ideas (Ḥalwātīya).

⁴¹ Cf. Trimmingham: *Sufi orders*, p. 190. Ḥidr is the immortal patron of the traveller, who had drunken from the source of life. He was able to inspire the mystic, answer his questions, save him from danger, give him a *ḥirqā* (the symbol of one's vow of obedience to the rules of the order) and, as a non-human master, could initiate the novice into the mystical path and even teach him *ḍikr*. Thus, the Sufi was connected with the ultimate source of mystical inspiration. Even Ibn al-'Arabī claimed to have been initiated by Ḥidr (cf. Schimmel, Annemarie: *Mystische Dimensionen des Islam*. - Köln, 1985, pp. 35, 157 f., 241, 286, 376; also *ET* 4, pp. 380-383). Ḥidr also taught the *ḍikr ḥāfī* (*ḥabs-e dam*) to the founder of the Naqṣbandīya and was particularly important when the inspired founded a new order. He had wisdom (*ḥikma*) and the greatest names (*al-ism al-a'ẓam*), a knowledge which provided supra-natural powers. He was the one who represented the inner light of saintship (*wilāya*). The institutionalization of Ḥidr or Ḥaḍr occurred, however, in the 18th century when 'Abd al-Dabbāq (d. 1717) founded

This day of initiation is celebrated with special zeal among the Rawṣaniya: The annual return of it is commemorated with a fasting day by the order.

His father, supposedly orthodox, was understandably against this approach and attacked him. Bāyazīd fled (*hiḡra*) to the tribe of the Mohmand around Nangarhar and was able to mobilize a following among the tribes of Ghorikhel, Khalil and the Mohmandzai around Peshawar. As is said, there was no 'ālim among the Ghorikhel who would repel Bāyazīd's ideas. Therefore, he was able to establish his order among them without major problems.⁴²

Beginning of Prophethood

Bāyazīd received the messages when in *ḥāl* (states), unified with God after having already gone through different stages (*maqāmāt*) of mystical life, which constitute the ascetic and ethical discipline of the Sufi.⁴³ In fact, in accordance with the tradition of mystical scholars, Bāyazīd had to take seven stages. Departing from this tradition, he introduced an eighth stage which was - according to him - absolute tranquillity (*sukūnat*). He was sure to be a *pīr* or a semi-divinity which was stressed by the perception that he had been initiated by Ḥidr.

He began to distinguish between external and internal worship, in complete consonance with the teachings of great mystics. While the first (external) was the *ṣarī'a* and for the time being was paramount to acquire *ma'rifa* (gnosis), the latter (internal) was regarded as perpetual worship and eternal duty. Thus, he quoted a *ḥadīth*:

"shari'at is like night, the tariqat, or means of attaining goodness, like the stars; the haqiqat, like the moon; and the ma'rifat, like the sun; and nothing is superior to the sun."⁴⁴

He further distinguished between worldly affairs which were set up by the *ṣarī'a* and transcendental affairs which were achievable only through the mystical path. According to him *ṣarī'a* was based merely on the five external principles. Its perception of fasting was limited to prohibition of eating and drinking and sensual

the Ḥadiriya order in 1713 (cf. EI¹ 4, p. 726 and Trimmingham: *Sufi orders*, pp. 62 f., 114 and 158 f. and EI² 4, pp. 902-905).

Besides this trans-human initiator there is another master: Uways al-Qarānī from Yemen who was a contemporary of the Prophet. He as well was authorized to set the path for the Sufi. For bibliographical notes see below footnote 90.

⁴² Ikram: *Rūd-e kawṭar*, pp. 53 f.

⁴³ "The Sūfī who sets out to seek God calls himself a 'traveller' (*sālik*); he advances by slow 'stages' (*maqāmāt*) along the 'path' (*tarīqat*) to the goal of union with Reality (*fanā fī 'l-Ḥaqq*)." Quoted in Nicholson, R.A.: *The mystics of Islam*. - London, 1966, p. 28.

⁴⁴ Quoted in Leyden: *Bayezid Ansari*, p. 411. These stages and allegories reflect classical mystical paths.

interests. The *tarīqa*, on the other hand, meant the hearing of *tasbīḥ* (the saying of the phrase *subḥān Allāh*, 'I proclaim the Glory of God'; also rosary) and *taḥlīl* (the act of saying "there is no God but God") and *ḍikr* as well as refraining from lust of flesh which implied a fasting by supererogation while its almsgiving was a perpetual duty to support the poor. Finally, one was to obey the angels and to fight against natural inclinations.⁴⁵

Bāyazīd further differentiated between 'āqil who represented the mere rational approach towards law and which he regarded as dead on the one hand, and, on the other, 'ārīf, the gnostic, who was, according to him, alive.⁴⁶ The pure rational approach towards Islam prevalent in the *ṣarī'a* was rejected for the sake of gnosis and veiled meaning (*bāṭin*), however, not totally refuting the visible (*zāhir*) law, which had to be followed as a precondition of the mystical journey. *Ṣarī'a* was to him the bark of a tree and annihilation of the tree was only possible through *ṣarī'a*.

Once having reached certain mystical stages, Bāyazīd as *ṣaiḥ* or *pīr* or *mursid* was also authorized, according to mystical theory, to change certain *ṣarī'* rules: Accordingly, he ordered fasting for only one day instead of one month, in spring and the replacement to pay *zakāt* by the order to plunder and attack merchants and travellers on the Kabul road as well as the Tajiks. This order also served to unify Pakhtun tribes.⁴⁷ Bāyazīd also stood for a new *qibla* (direction of worship), arguing that God is everywhere and everything was connected with Him; similarly, water was no more necessary for *ḡusul*, since the mere wind was able to purify man for prayer.⁴⁸ He also installed a *bait al-māl* out of which he took *ḥums* and supported the needy of his community.⁴⁹

Special emphasis was laid on observing *chillā* or *chillah* (forty days retreat; also *arba'īniya*) once a year, invoking divine names of God, meditating and repenting. Bāyazīd proclaimed that adherence to ablution, *qibla* and the five prayers could be neglected once the *murīd* had experienced the eight stages, which

⁴⁵ Cf. Leyden: *Bayezid Ansari*, pp. 412 f.

⁴⁶ These thoughts remind of the mystics' critique on the legalists as articulated f.e. by al-Gazzālī, Abū Ḥamid (d. 1111): *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*. / Engl. tr. Al-Haj Maulana Fazal al-Karim. - Lahore: The Book House, 1983, vol. 1-4.

⁴⁷ v. Noer: *Akbar*, pp. 208 ff. An outsider to tribal society - as a divine or 'clerical' - in fact, unite the fighting tribals and, thus, could transcend tribal boundaries. Cf. Roy, Olivier: *Islam and resistance in Afghanistan*. - Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp. 25 f. *et passim*. It is apparent from his *silṣila*, that Bāyazīd was a non-Pakhtun from an Arab origin.

⁴⁸ Leyden: *Bayezid Ansari*, p. 414. These ideas indicate the pantheistic theorem of *waḥdat al-wu-jūd*, the unity of being, as had been elaborated by Ibn al-'Arabī.

⁴⁹ v. Noer: *Akbar*, p. 211. It is also said that he required a multitude of prayers too. Cf. Leyden: *Bayezid Ansari*, pp. 374 f.

he had established. This was a clear indication of *ig̃tihād* which was naturally criticized by orthodox Sufis as well as theologists, specially since the 'door of *ig̃tihād*' had been closed with the establishment of the main *maḍāhib* in the 10th century.

It is said, that the Rawṣanis enjoyed free mingling of both sexes. As this was only tolerated in Hindu societies but not in Muslim ones, they thus displayed Hindu influence. The orthodox have argued that the Rawṣaniya order tolerated promiscuous assemblies, which supposedly led to excesses, only in order to attract the 'lascivious' Pakhtuns. Within the first degrees of the mystical path men and women were, however, separated and only when advanced in illumination, were these restrictions removed. The assemblies were usually accompanied by music, singing and dancing.⁵⁰ These influences probably originated from the east Punjabi connection.⁵¹ The opponents declared the order to be totally in contrast to *ṣarī'a*. It is not surprising that the rejection originated from orthodox powers, those from the 'qalang area'. The adherence of the al-Junaidi line of mystical *silsila* were especially critical about Bāyazīd's heterodox doctrines.⁵² Bāyazīd, in contrast, seemingly tended towards the Khurasani central Asian al-Bistāmī tradition which stood for intoxication, individualism and a tendency towards Shia and 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. A proper affiliation of Bāyazīd with the al-Bistāmī *silsila* can not, however, be traced since Khurasani authorities are not incorporated in his *silsila*. Just on the contrary, we may find Arab origins in Bāyazīd's stem, since his lineage goes back to Abū Ayyūb Anṣārī, a non-Afghan, Arab predecessor.⁵³ Being initiated by Hīḍr and having features of a Saviour, he was, in fact, beyond affiliations. The affiliation with God and Muḥammad was supposed to be sufficient, and the concept of *silsila* was of no more central importance. This was

⁵⁰ Leyden: *Bayezid Ansari*, p. 378. Music, singing and dancing were also features stated for the Ḥalwatīya.

⁵¹ Ikrām: *Rūd-e kawṭar*, p. 54.

⁵² One of the great opponents was the Sunni Aḥūnd Darwēza (d. 1638), who wrote a book called *Maḥzan al-Islām* in which Rawṣaniya is heavily criticized. He himself was initiated into the Kubrāwīya, Čiṣṭīya, Suhrawadriya, Šattāriya and Nājiya Ḥallājīya. Most of these orders stood in the Iraqi Sufi tradition of al-Junaid, which was accepted by orthodoxy. Interestingly, Darwēza was also initiated into the Nājiya Ḥallājīya which, according to al-Hijwerī, had abandoned the sacred law and adopted heresy. It was also discarded by al-Junaid and 'Uṭmān al-Makkī (d. 909), the teacher of al-Ḥallāj. Darwēza's *silsila* can be traced back to caliph 'Uṭmān bin 'Affān, corresponding with the Suhrawadri *silsila* tradition (for Darwēza cf. Qārī, Ḥafīz 'Abd al-Gaffūr: Ḥaḍrat Aḥūnd Darwēzah kē ḥalāt awr taṣānīf. in: *al-Ḥaq* 21, 1985.1, p. 47 and Qārī, Ḥafīz 'Abd al-Gaffūr: Ḥaḍrat Aḥūnd Darwēzah kē ḥalāt-e zindagī. in: *al-Ḥaq* 20, 1985.9, pp. 33-36 as well as Rizvi: *Rawṣāniyya* 7, p. 68 and Ikrām: *Rūd-e kawṭar*, pp. 414-421. For the orders and their characteristics cf. Trimmingham: *Sufi orders*, p. 149 and *passim*. Also al-Hujwiri: *Kashful Mahjub*, pp. 130, 152 and Bhatnagar, R.S.: *Dimensions of classical Sufi thought*. - Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1984, p. 188 and 205.

⁵³ For Abū Ayyūb see *El*² 1, pp. 108 f.

in consonance with the *Ṭarīqa Muḥammadiya*,⁵⁴ the Muhammadan Path, which was to evolve in the next century.

After having reached a high stage of gnostic experience, in a rather rationalistic approach Bāyazīd not only rejected pillars of Islam but also set aside the doctrines of resurrection and final judgement (see below), and "pronounced prosperity to be Paradise, and adversity Hell." These were allegorical interpretations of the Quranic words. His innovations led to extremes: Nearly everything was allowed without scruple, specially the "absolute right to dispose of the lives and properties of all who did not adhere to his sect."⁵⁵ This was the proclamation of *ḡihād*. As time went on, Bāyazīd became increasingly an absolute totalitarian sovereign.

The kind of thoughts he propagated seemed to be rather agnostic to the '*ulamā*' and other orthodox powers. When studying the theological concept of Bāyazīd closer, one may recognize a logical development in his thoughts. As the perfect leader or even *mahdī* who - as an illuminated - was part of the divine light, he was authorized to reject *ṣarī'a* and introduce new laws through *iḡtihād* on the basis of his own intellect, thereby rejecting *taqlīd*, which the orthodox schools had dictated.

He proclaimed the abolition of *ṣarī'a* when he postulated "[...] come now, O disciple! and learn to know the creator of the world, and having already perfected thyself in the law (i.e. *ṣarī'a*), throw down the authority of the ordinances from thy head."⁵⁶ This was, however, only possible through the guidance of the *pīr*. "Now therefore come unto me, that I may bring you unto God; for the holy *Korān* directs you to seek after the divine union, and it is only through the intervention of a perfect *Pīr*, that this union can be accomplished."⁵⁷ He was to perform the prayers of the Prophet,⁵⁸ and gradually saw himself in the position of the Saviour (*mahdī*) who would lead the people from dark to light (*rawṣanī*). This, apparently, was too esoteric an approach for the Tajik Aḥūnd Darwēza (1511 or 1527 - 1638!), who called Bāyazīd *pīr-e tārik*, the leader of darkness.

⁵⁴ For some characteristics of this movement as well as bibliographical notes see below, in the concluding section of this paper.

⁵⁵ Leyden: *Bayezid Ansari*, p. 381.

⁵⁶ Bāyazīd quoted in Leyden: *Bayezid Ansari*, p. 375.

⁵⁷ Bāyazīd quoted in Leyden: *Bayezid Ansari*, p. 373.

⁵⁸ Fānī, Muḥsin: *Dabistān al-Maḡāhib*. / tr. D. Shea and A. Troyer. - Lahore: Triple Star Printing Press, 1973, p. 346.

Mahdī and Ismaili thoughts, social order, *ḡihād* and *da'wa*

Bāyazīd increasingly resembled Prophet Muḥammad and when he was about 40 years of age, he proclaimed to be the *mahdī*⁵⁹ who received revelation (*waḥī*) and who had come to bring light (*hudā*) to the people. Thus, he called himself *pīr-e rawšan*. This happened after he had gone through *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa* and had reached the station of *qurba* (nearness), when he could hear God's voice. As *mahdī*, he then went into *waṣla*: his own existence submerged in that of God: He heard God's voice through himself (from *ṣarī'a* to *waṣla* took him about eleven years). After *waṣla* he was ordained to *wahda* in order to be endowed with divine attributes.⁶⁰ This was without doubt the excellent stage of mystical experience. He himself was one with God. He was the *quṭb* or rather the *ḥatm al-wilāya* (the seal of sanctity) and his path was identical with Muḥammad and he, like him, was calling the people towards the Almighty. He was the Perfect Man, *al-insān al-kāmil*, like Ibn al-'Arabī had conceptualized it and 'Abd al-Karīm Jilī (d. 1410) had further elaborated on it.⁶¹ The Perfect Man, through whom God became manifest and the dialectic of *ma'lūh* and *ilāh* or *mah'lūq* and *ḥalq* or *marbūb* and *rabb* became apparent in Bāyazīd. He was logically at the point to become God. Criticism from orthodoxy was specially strong because he had not been initiated by any recognized saint but by a non-historical power, *Ḥidr*, who was accepted as initiator by Sufi masters only.

Those adhering to Bāyazīd were promised to see light (*nūr*) and were regarded as believers and represented life and dynamism. Those not following him, were regarded as *jinn*s, the unbelievers, originating from fire (*nār*), the beasts, who neither knew God nor themselves. They had to be killed and their material property was meant for the living. Only his followers were rightly guided, and thereby allowed to kill and loot people.⁶² This was clearly a propagation of *ḡihād*.

Bāyazīd used the concept of light, having its starting and ending point in God, the *nūr*. Here, one may find similar features of the theory of *nūr Muḥammadī*, the light of Muḥammad, which had been developed by Ibn al-'Arabī in the 13th century, the same who had elaborated the theory of al-Juṇaid's *tafrīq* (separation and emanation) and reunion. The concept of the 'Light

⁵⁹ For the *mahdī* and its theory cf. also Ibn Khaldūn: *The Muqaddimah*. / ed. and tr. F. Rosenthal. - New York, 1958, vol. 2: pp. 156-200; Hurgronje, C. Snouck: *Verspreide Geschriften*. - Bonn/Leipzig 1923, pp. 147 ff. (Der Mahdi) as well as Mühlmann: *Chiliasmus*, pp. 223-235 and the *El** article on *mahdī*.

⁶⁰ Rizvi: *Rawṣanīyya* 6, pp. 72 and 7, pp. 64-67.

⁶¹ Cf. also Nicholson, R.A.: *Studies in Islamic mysticism*. - Cambridge, 1967², especially pp. 77-142.

⁶² Leyden: *Bayezid Ansari*, pp. 380 f. and 414.

of Muḥammad' later became part of the Sufi reform-movement of the 18th century called *Ṭarīqa Muḥammadiya* (see below).⁶³

The principle of mahdism was equal to a rejection of the rules of *ṣarī'a*, or legality, which had guaranteed a higher social status to certain social groups. Like the Ismailis Bāyazīd distinguished between the Muslim who was a believer by birth and who simply adhered to *ṣarī'a* and *tafsīr* (exoteric commentary on the *Qur'ān*) because of lack of divine guidance, on the one hand, and the *mu'min* who became a believer by conviction (*nīya*), and who followed the *ṭarīqa* and practised *ta'wīl* (esoteric comment on the *Qur'ān*) on the other. This was a clear distinction between Islam and Imān with the concept of *ḥaqq* or justice as vehicle for an egalitarian society. Thus, *nīya* was paramount. The discrimination between Islam and Imān caused a splitting in the social order between ordinary Muslims and the elite, the Rawṣānīs, whose selfconsciousness was now enhanced. Accordingly, Bāyazīd wrote a book entitled *Maqṣūd al-Mu'minīn*, which was meant for the believers only.

His movement was based rather on an egalitarian system in which the participants were - relatively - equal, except, of course, the *mahdī* himself. And, in fact, like in Ismaili thought, the Saviour was infallible and therefore legitimized to present a new law⁶⁴ after having gone through *ta'wīl*. Bāyazīd could not claim genealogical descent from the family of the Prophet, which would have been indispensable, however, for the Ismaili *mahdī*. He made up for this shortcoming by succeeding Anṣār or 'Muslim of the first hour', a divergence from classical *mahdī*-theory, which had become increasingly popular.

It may have been these revolutionary occurrences which led the orthodoxy, people like Aḥūnd Darwēza to reject him. They accused him to plan to install his own religion and his individual *ṣarī'a* instead of Muḥammad's.⁶⁵ This is not surprising: Bāyazīd had challenged the legal order.

Among the Ghorikhel, Bāyazīd established a kind of octologue which he himself had gone through, bringing light to the hearts of Muslims or rather *mu'mins*.

As mentioned above, there were eight grades which he himself passed through in order to reach a spiritual elevation, at the end of which there was tranquillity (*sakūnat*). And it was only through the perfect spiritual director (*pīr-e kāmīl*)⁶⁶ - so to speak, the incarnation of God (*ittiḥād*) - that the Prophet was obeyed and it

⁶³ For the illuminative mysticism cf. also *EI*⁸ 4, pp. 119-121: *Ishrāh*.

⁶⁴ For the Ismaili thoughts cf. Nagel: *Ismailiya und Fatimiden*, p. 43 *et passim*.

⁶⁵ Leyden: *Bayezid Ansari*, p. 388.

⁶⁶ This was specially in consonance with the Ismaili perception on the one hand, but was in contrast to Akbar's claim of *insān-e kāmīl* on the other.

was through the Prophet that unity with God was reached, the *tawḥīd*.⁶⁷ The Bāyazīd octologue can be summarized as follows:

- The first principle was *ṣarīʿa* or law and the adherence to the *arkān-e ḥāmisā*, the five pillars.
- This was followed by *ṭarīqat*, the way or path and the ascetic faculty to overcome worldly passions as well as the obedience to the angels.
- The third principle was *ḥaqīqat*, or truth which removed the seclusion between God and man.
- *Maʿrifat*, gnosis, meant the ability to recognize God through the faculty of the internal eye with the light of understanding.
- *Qurbat*, the nearness with God, was especially attainable by reciting and understanding his 99 names (*ʿism-e aʿẓam*, *tasbīḥ* and *taḥlīl*).
- *Waṣlat* was union with divinity and transcending of self.
- *Waḥdat* or *tawḥīd*, the oneness, giving up one's own identity for the sake of God, was succeeded by the last stage,
- *Sukūnat* or tranquillity and the sharing of all attributes of deity, indwelling in God.⁶⁸ Nearness, union, oneness and tranquillity are placed higher than the preceding stages⁶⁹ because of their being beyond the rational scenario. Without these principles and the absolute obedience to a *pīr* all divine duties were, according to Bāyazīd, baseless. They could only be experienced through a mediator i.e., Bāyazīd, the perfect master. These perceptions followed partly the traditional Sufi thought of the three stages of *fanā*: 1. annihilation in the *ṣaiḥ*, 2. annihilation in the Prophet and 3. annihilation in God (*baqāʾ*). In these stages the follower was surrounded by the heavenly light (*nūr*).

By now, Bāyazīd had reached total identity with God and with the Prophet (*ittiḥād*) through visions and dreams. He was convinced in being the one representing the light of God. Thus, he was illuminated (*rawṣān*) and his followers were the illuminated (*rawṣānī*). The light was the veil of the highest intelligence. Accordingly, he was God himself, the final authority:

"Since nothing exist but God, what meaning can be assigned to such words as right and wrong, good and bad, excepting that every man should implicitly obey his Pir, or religious instructor? Behold now, I am both your God, and your prophet. There is therefore nothing which you can do, so meritorious as to obey my commands. If you fulfil my commands, I will, after death, restore you in the form of man; and, if not, you shall be produced in the forms of dogs and

⁶⁷ His claim of being capable to do *karāmāt* (charismatic gifts) had been popularized when he was about 17 years, in 949/1542, which implied that he was predestinated for a *mahdī*. Cf. Nawāz Ḥān, Ṣāḥ: *Maʿāṭir al-umarā*. - (Engl. ed.) - 2nd ed. Delhi, 1979, vol. 2 (2): p. 596.

⁶⁸ Cf. also Leyden: *Bayezid Ansari*, pp. 412 f. and Rizvi: *Rawṣānīyya* 7, pp. 63 ff.

⁶⁹ Leyden: *Bayezid Ansari*, p. 413.

bears; but those who obstinately disobey my commands shall be utterly annihilated."⁷⁰

Bāyazīd's superiority over human nature was manifested also by his using *ḥadiṭ qudsī* (tradition in which God speaks directly), elevating his mind to the good qualities of God. In fact, as a *mahdī* united with God, *ṣarī'a* had become irrelevant to him, since he himself was the final authority. According to the theory this was logical. For the orthodoxy it was, however, unacceptable.

Since Bāyazīd, as he himself claimed, produced the best of interpretation of the Holy Word and the proof of the unity of Deity, he titled his basic book *Hair al-Bayān*,⁷¹ the best of interpretations. The fact that he often called God a deity made it also possible for the Hindus to accept his claim. He had become ruler of the world, communicating with mankind.

According to the eight stages or degrees of mystical knowledge, which were called *dīkrs*,⁷² Bāyazīd formed his order in which his *murīdīn* (followers) were categorized in eight classes (*ḥalwat*). Their curricula in *dīkr* were different in accordance with their respective mystical experience,⁷³ just like the Ismaili *ḥadd* (pl. *ḥudūd*), which defined "for each degree the horizon of its consciousness, the mode of knowledge proportionate to the mode of being realized by the adept."⁷⁴ It is said that the *pīr* composed eight formularies of instruction, delivered in his own name, instead of using God's name. Each of the eight degrees used its proper formulary⁷⁵ and was headed by a *ṣaiḥ* who himself was headed by the *dā'ī* or Bāyazīd himself, a hierarchy similar to the Ismailis'.⁷⁶

In analogy to Ismaili thought he proclaimed that "he who knows himself knows God" (*man 'arafa nafsahu, faqad 'arafa rabbahu.*) Thus, God could only be perceived in the mystical order, the degree of which corresponded with the different levels of *murīds*, creating thereby a sub-group-consciousness among the respective *ḥalwat* in particular and a group-consciousness among the Rawṣānis in general. At each level of *ḥalwat*, the knowledge of oneself as well as of God increases. The esoteric sodality - an organisation of the levels (*ḥalwat* or *ḥudūd*) in which the followers are drawn up in one combat or spiritual chivalry (*jawān-*

⁷⁰ Bāyazīd quoted in Leyden: *Bayezid Ansari*, p. 380.

⁷¹ v. Noer: *Akbar*, p. 203. For details see below.

⁷² Leyden: *Bayezid Ansari*, p. 375.

⁷³ v. Noer: *Akbar*, pp. 204 f. For different *dīkrs* see also Anawati, G.C. and Louis Gardet: *Mystique musulmane*. - Paris 1976³, pp. 187-258.

⁷⁴ Corbin, Henri: *Cyclical time and Ismaili gnosis*. - London 1983, p. 85. The different *dīkrs* according to different mystical experience were also proscribed by other Sufi orders. Cf. Trimingham: *Sufi orders*, ch. 5 and 7.

⁷⁵ Leyden: *Bayezid Ansari*, p. 377.

⁷⁶ For the Ismaili hierarchy cf. Nagel: *Ismailiya und Fatimiden*, pp. 20 ff.

mardī; in Arabic: *futuwwa*)⁷⁷ produces the necessary social solidarity. In the Ismaili tradition, this esoteric sodality is organized in ten levels, from the *nāṭiq* - the enunciator of a new law (*ṣarī'a*) which he received from the angel as revelation (*waḥī*) - to the *Imān* - who has personal mastery over the community - and *dā'ī* (missionary) to the *ma'dūn* (master), from *tanzīl* (revelation) to *ta'wīl* and from *zāhir* (exoteric) to *bāṭin* (esoteric),⁷⁸ the recognition of the lost and hidden original sense of Muhammadan law.⁷⁹ Thus, a step-by-step process of individuation is visible. The attainment of each higher degree is called *qiyāmat* (resurrection) which ultimately leads to a closing of a cycle of resurrection. Thus, there was no question of resurrection in the ordinary, traditional sense. Bāyazīd, thereby, challenged the common concept of *qiyāmat*, and in this way a particular pillar of *ṣarī'a*.

His inclination to set up a hierarchy among his followers had some instances of neo-platonic ideas and pantheism. He also relied on the emanation theory according to which man had left God (*tafrīq*) with the ultimate aim to reunify (*jam'*) with absolute truth, God. Like in *waḥdat al-wujūd* (unity of Being) everything was part of God while the *quṭb* as the first intelligence was nearest to God after having passed through different stages of incarnation. Bāyazīd's pantheistic viewpoint becomes evident when he states that

"whatever exists in form, is the mirror of divinity; whatever is heard or seen, is God, who alone exists; while the material world is nothing but thought and idea [...] besides the being of God, there is no other being in existence [...] and he is the same in all creatures, and the soul of all."

Hence he also developed the idea of the breath of life being God.⁸⁰ Then, if everything is God, there certainly was no question of good or bad. Reality was beyond material and therefore beyond attributes. It was infinite and trans-rational.

Nobody was to kill any of the 18,000 classes of beings. If a Rawṣāni nevertheless killed a being or a person, it was because of the victim's swifter union with God. It is in this connection that Bāyazīd's first death anniversary was regarded as a kind of *dies natalis*,⁸¹ pointing to the theory of re-incarnation.

Bāyazīd is said to have ordered that an animal slaughtered by those who did follow the path of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, was *ḥarām* (unlawful) and the slaughters

⁷⁷ For *futuwwa* and the organisational patterns of guilds and their affiliation with Sufi orders cf. Taeschner, Franz: *Zünfte und Bruderschaften im Islam*. - München/Zürich 1979.

⁷⁸ Corbin: *Cyclical time*, pp. 84, 90-95.

⁷⁹ Nagel: *Ismailiya und Fatimiden*, p. 33.

⁸⁰ Leyden: *Bayezid Ansari*, p. 379.

⁸¹ v. Noer: *Akbar*, p. 209.

should be killed and looted.⁸² In fact, his most ardent opponent Ahūnd Darwēza, was of the view that Bāyazīd was very much imbued by this monistic doctrine. And since Bāyazīd was preaching before Sirhindī and before Šaiḥ 'Alī Mutaqqī al-Hindī's (d. 1556) *Kanz al-'ummāl* had gained fame, Ikrām might be right by opining that he was the first to introduce *wahdat al-wujūd* in the subcontinent.⁸³

Again, Bāyazīd's mahdism becomes apparent when he preaches in different languages, namely Arabic, Persian, Pashto and Hindi.⁸⁴ In this way, he was able to reach a considerable number of followers in order to realize his dream for a Rawšanī Hindustan. He planned a *ḡihād* against Akbar on the one hand and against Khurasan on the other.⁸⁵ The ability of preaching in different languages as well as the duty of *ḡihād* both were regarded to be features of the rightly guided enlightened leader.

Bāyazīd exercised his influence on the 'nationalistic' struggle of Pakhtuns against the sober *sunna* as well as against the Mughal empire from the area of Tirah (Safedkoh - Peshawar - Kohat). He systematically prepared for a *ḡihād*, declaring to attack Hindustan. He even distributed the imperial provinces among his followers beforehand and seized from his followers horses, promising to reward them with double the amount of their value, once he had conquered India. One can hardly affirm the argument of some later historians, that it was this kind of terrorism which attracted his followers.⁸⁶ One can be quite sure that there was a level beyond pure destruction attracting Pakhtuns to unite under Bāyazīd. It was rather the possibility to react legitimately against imperial power: Mingled with Islamic thought and legitimized by the intention to bring about a just order. The movement not only transcended tribal boundaries and traditional patterns but would also give new Islamic identity to its followers in a time of Mughal hegemonial policies. It had some similarities with social brigandism legitimized religiously.

Bāyazīd heavily stressed mission (*da'wa*) which, according to him, was a crucial way to disseminate his message. His first *da'wa* focused on his family and he - like a *dā'ī mahṣūr* (missionary with limited authority, whose function was to initiate into the earthly *ḥalwat* and the exoteric cult) - ordered its members to perform *ḥalwat* and *chillah*.⁸⁷ Later, he was ordered to missionize openly, like a

⁸² Ikrām: *Rūd-e kawṭar*, p. 58.

⁸³ Ikrām: *Rūd-e kawṭar*, pp. 54 f. The issue of *wahdat al-wujūd* is, however, still discussed among scholars and Sufis.

⁸⁴ Among the Pakhtuns the knowledge of different languages was and still is considered to be a divine blessing rather than an individual achievement through study.

⁸⁵ Ikrām: *Rūd-e kawṭar*, p. 57.

⁸⁶ F.e. v. Noer: *Akbar*, pp. 213 ff.

⁸⁷ Similar instances can be found in the Mahdawi movement. Cf. Rizvi: *Revivalist movements*, pp. 81 ff.

dā'ī muṭṭlaq (missionary with unlimited authorization, whose function was to initiate into the world of the angels and the esoteric cult). Probably after having reached the stage similar to the Ismaili Imān, or even *nāṭiq*, he began to send out *dā'īs* to different places in order to spread his ideas. But the *dā'īs* were confronted with heavy opposition, especially from local *pīrs* who pursued their own interests. They were, nevertheless, able to propagate his mission quite successfully. One of his *dā'īs* prepared ground in the Dawari tribe so that Bāyazīd could go there personally and succeeded to convince different tribes to follow his teaching.

Meanwhile, the attention of Akbar's forces was drawn to this peculiar sect. When Bāyazīd was caught and brought to the *qāḍī* of Kabul, during his inquisition he was asked if he really called himself *mahdī*. He denied, explaining that he was *hādī* (the True Guide)⁸⁸ who led the strayed to the right path. To the question as to whether he had been receiving *wahī* (divine revelation), he answered that he was receiving *ilhām* (inspiration) and thus being granted '*ilm-e ladunnī*'.⁸⁹ He further argued that his was the *uwasī*⁹⁰ *ṭarīqa* and, thus, needed no further guidance since he received messages from the Prophet. In this way he managed somehow to present himself in a way compatible with orthodoxy. He denied all his syncretistic and ultra-mystic and mahdiist thinking and finally was released.

Back to Peshawar, he took up mission amongst the Mohmandzais among whom he and his family members had married. In Tirah he gained a considerable following among the people of Tori, a division of the Bangash, and followers of the Shia.⁹¹

Some of his *dā'īs* took up the charge to missionize among the people of Kandahar and even of Baluchistan. In Sayyidpur in Sindh, a *dā'ī* set up a centre of the Rawṣaniya. The *dā'īs* could, however, act only as his agents and were totally subject to his authority. After all, he was practically the incarnation of the deity. Having completed respectable missionary work, Bāyazīd set out to send his *dā'īs*

⁸⁸ *Hādī* was also, according to Ibn al-'Arabī, manifested in Prophet Muḥammad and, thus, had qualities of the *mahdī*.

⁸⁹ *Ikrām: Rūd-e kawṭar*, p. 45. This is inspired knowledge, similar to gnosis.

⁹⁰ This hints at Uways al-Qarānī (7th century), contemporary of the Prophet Muḥammad but unacquainted with him. He is the prototype of an inspired mystic, led only by God and who was never initiated by any master or anyone's guidance. Sufis without direct initiator but with spiritual initiation through Uways were called *uwaysīs*. For Uways cf. Schimmel: *Mystische Dimensionen*, pp. 53, 157; Trimmingham: *Sufi orders*, pp. 12 f. and 187; al-Hujwiri: *Kashful Mahjub*, pp. 83 f. and Husaini, A.S.: Uways al-Qarānī and the Uwaysī Sūfīs. in: *The Muslim world* 57, 1967, pp. 103-113. See also above footnote 41.

⁹¹ Leyden: *Bayezid Ansari*, p. 387.

to governors and regents of the neighbouring countries and tribes, to Delhi, Kabul etc., presenting his books to them. He expected them to accept his claims. The courtly historians and the orthodoxy, however, had painted a dark picture of him and he was increasingly stigmatized as *pīr-e tārik*, the master of dark.

History of the Rawṣāniya after Bāyazīd

Bāyazīd had turned a brigand when he started to attack merchants and traders on the road connecting India with Kabul. The purpose of these activities was not only to fill the pockets of the tribals and peasants who depended on a subsistence economy in the mountain region. It was also meant to push back the imperial power which was approaching the Northern Areas. After some successful battles against the Mughal army, the movement became increasingly popular,⁹² counting more than 25,000 members in its heydays.⁹³ The movement proved to be a uniting force in the tribal 'ordered anarchical'⁹⁴ society especially against Mughal interests which were designed to conquer Transoxania ever since Kabul had become part of the empire in 1558. The policy pursued by Akbar in the tribal areas was not to extract tributes from the tribes but to guarantee political tranquillity in order to make trade possible. Akbar also tried to pacify the Rawṣāniya by promising them freedom to follow their religion and customs as he supposed they would thus stay within their districts.⁹⁵

The fightings between the Mughals and Bāyazīd, nevertheless, continued. When Bāyazīd finally died in 1573, his eldest son, Šaiḥ 'Umar,⁹⁶ took lead of the movement, propagating that his father had entrusted the reign of the world to him and his followers. Interestingly enough, he carried the coffin of his father along with him at each battle.⁹⁷ He did so not only because some tribes had destroyed Bāyazīd's graveyard, but also, because this would bestow *baraka* (holiness, blessings). 'Umar as well as his brothers were killed in an attack against the former sympathizers of Bāyazīd, the Yusufzais. The only surviving, youngest son of Bāyazīd, Jalāl al-Dīn, was imprisoned but later became the leading figure

⁹² This, however, does not correspond with the view represented by Bhanu: *Raushania*, pp. 57-67, specially p. 60. Bhanu states that there was a politization of the movement only with the advent of Jalāl, Bāyazīd's son. For a historical scetch after Bāyazīd cf. Bhanu: *Raushania*, pp. 62-66. See also Ḥan, Rawṣān: *Taḍkirah*. - Karachi 1981 (3), pp. 293-301. For the Mughal activities against the Rawṣānīs cf. also Srivastava, Ashirbadi Lal: *Akbar the Great* 1. - Agra/Delhi/Jaipur 1962, pp. 337 f., 345-349, 422; as well as Varma, R.C.: The tribal policy of the Mughals. in: *Islamic culture* 26, 1952.3, pp. 13-34.

⁹³ Bhanu: *Raushania*, p. 66.

⁹⁴ Ahmed: *Millennium*, pp. 74 f.

⁹⁵ Rizvi: *Religion*, p. 136.

⁹⁶ For the family tree and dates cf. appendix 1.

⁹⁷ v. Noer: *Akbar*, pp. 216 f.

of the Rawṣanīs.

Surprisingly, it was Akbar who intervened in favour of the imprisoned Jalāl. While on a journey from Kabul back to India, the emperor called on the Yusufzais to transfer the prisoner back to his Lahore court. Akbar's intention might have been to create disunion among Afghan and Pakhtun tribes in order to guarantee Mughal trade routes via the Khyber. Without Jalāl as a uniting force, disharmony among the tribes would keep them from blocking the trade routes. Jalāl soon managed, however, to leave Lahore. In Tirah he unified the tribes of Bangesh, Afridi and Urakzai to counter the Mughals. From now on the Mughal historians called him Jalāla, the terrible,⁹⁸ and usually portrayed the Rawṣanīs rather as *tarīkīs*.

Jalāl then called on the Afghans to follow him: "Let the Afghans only attend me [...] and I will soon overthrow the bulwarks of Agra and Sikri or Lahore."⁹⁹ His influence had grown considerably over the years. His increasing control over the area is, however, not exclusively due to his own merits. The area had experienced a decline as an economic and cultural centre. From the Northern Areas, the focus of power had more and more shifted towards Gujarat which had become a centre of trade from 1586 onward due to the influx of silver.¹⁰⁰ The new economical and political tranquillity in the northern regions might be responsible for the easy take over of power by Jalāl's army of radicals.

The Peshawar valley and the surrounding region were not only very fertile and self-sufficient but also of crucial strategical importance since Hindustan had been invaded and conquered through this region via the Khyber Pass and because the trade to Central Asia and Iran passed through. Jalāl's area of influence was not confined to Tirah and the Peshawar valley. In the east, his area extended to Sind Sagar upto Attock in 1585, a major copper mint in the north-western region.¹⁰¹

Jalāl became extremely popular among the Pakhtuns. He even called himself *pādiṣāh* (king) of Pakhtūnḥa and declared *ḡihād* against India. By 1585, the road between Kabul and the Indus as well as the area of Peshawar was under the control of the Rawṣanīs, and Akbar had suffered heavy losses at the hand of Jalāl's army.¹⁰² This strategically very alarming situation prompted Akbar to send troops to Swat and Bajaur. But due to the inaccessibility of the region, and due to

⁹⁸ v. Noer: *Akbar*, pp. 218 ff.

⁹⁹ Leyden: *Bayezid Ansari*, p. 396.

¹⁰⁰ Moosvi: *The economy*, pp. 363 ff.

¹⁰¹ Moosvi: *The economy*, p. 319 ff.

¹⁰² Burn, Richard: The Mughal period. in: *The Cambridge history of India 4.* / ed. T. Wolseley Haig. - Cambridge, 1928, repr. Delhi: S. Chand and Co., 1969, pp. 134, 136. Elliot: *History of India 2*, pp. 117 ff.

weaknesses of leadership the Mughal army, was defeated once more for the time being.¹⁰³

In the next year he helped 10,000 families of the Mohmand and Ghorī tribes who were suppressed by Musa, the deputy of Sayyid Ḥāmid-e Buḥārī (d. 1586)¹⁰⁴ in Peshawar. Under Jalāl's leadership they stirred up a rebellion and defeated the Mughal near Bikram,¹⁰⁵ retired to Tirah and blocked the road to Khyber. Ḥān 'Azīm Kōka (Zain Ḥān Kōka) (d. 1601), a high Mughal military, sought to punish Jalāl,¹⁰⁶ and Jalāl had to take refuge in Swat and Bajaur with the Yusufzais. In 1588, however, Jalāl's family was turned over to the Mughals¹⁰⁷ and his standing became increasingly hard. He had to recruit new allies and faced treason and dishonesty. Yet he and his men attacked Ghazni in 1598-1599 and were able to hold it for a short while.¹⁰⁸ He was supported by the Yusufzais, who due to their interference in these areas had been punished by the Mughals and in 1586 had rejoined the Rawṣaniya.¹⁰⁹ In 1600-1601 he was finally killed and succeeded by his nephew Aḥdād, son of 'Umar. Aḥdād is said to have claimed the Mughal empire for himself for he wrote to Jahāngir (reg. 1605-1627) that the husband of Abū Sa'id Timūrī's daughter was married to a man whose descendant was Aḥdād himself.¹¹⁰ He was, however, killed by the Mughal army in 1625-1626 and was succeeded by his son 'Abd al-Qādir (d. 1633) who soon surrendered to Šāh Jahān (reg. 1627-1658) and later became an officer in the Mughal army. He was given a high rank, similar to Allah Dād (d. 1648), son of Jalāl al-Dīn.¹¹¹ Karīm Dād, another son of Jalāl, seems to have been the last political leader of the Rawṣanis. He was arrested by Rāja Jagat Singh (d. 1645), a high Mughal military official, in 1637.¹¹² After Karīm's death in 1637, the movement lost momentum and declined totally.

The movement had already weakened when Jalāl al-Dīn died and his successors were systematically integrated into the Mughal army. According to historical

¹⁰³ v. Noer: *Akbar*, pp. 222 f.; Nawāz Ḥān: *Ma'āṭir al-umarā'* (Urdu) 1, p. 115.

¹⁰⁴ Buḥārī was a high military official in the Mughal army; cf. Nawāz Ḥān: *Ma'āṭir al-umarā'* (English) 1, pp. 608-610.

¹⁰⁵ Nawāz Ḥān: *Ma'āṭir al-umarā'* (English) 1, p. 609.

¹⁰⁶ Nawāz Ḥān: *Ma'āṭir al-umarā'* (English) 1, p. 41. For Zain Ḥān Kōka cf. Nawāz Ḥān: *Ma'āṭir al-umarā'* (English) 2, part 2, pp. 1022-1028 *et passim*.

¹⁰⁷ Varma: *Tribal policy*, p. 19.

¹⁰⁸ Nawāz Ḥān: *Ma'āṭir al-umarā'* (English) 2, part 2, pp. 598.

¹⁰⁹ Varma: *Tribal policy*, p. 17 and Srivastava: *Akbar*, 1, p. 346.

¹¹⁰ Ḥān, Muḥammad Jahāngīr: *Taḍkirah-e Šūfiyah-e Sarḥad*. - n.d., pp. 120 f. as quoted in Ilarām: *Rūd-e kawṭar*, p. 47. For Aḥdād see Nawāz Ḥān: *Ma'āṭir al-umarā'* (English) 2, pp. 536, 598-599, 675, 1015.

¹¹¹ Ilarām: *Rūd-e kawṭar*, p. 47.

¹¹² Nawāz Ḥān: *Ma'āṭir al-umara'* (English) 1, pp. 726 f.

tradition, the movement had already been defeated under Akbar, when he had sent his imperial horsemen, the Ahadīs, to defeat the Rawšanīs.¹¹³

Cultural contribution

Without going into details, there seems to be no doubt that Bāyazīd has contributed considerably to Pakhtun and Afghan culture. He and his successors were not only successful in bringing about a national and spiritual mode of articulation. Bāyazīd also contributed some important local literature. The most prominent of these works seemingly is the *Hair al-Bayān*, a book focusing on the proof of the Unity of Deity, divided into 40 chapters, in which some principles of the Rawšanīya are elaborated. It is in four languages: Arabic, Persian, Pashto and Hindi. The Arabic part, according to his arch-rivals, is, however, not in compliance with grammatical rules,¹¹⁴ and taken as evidence of Bāyazīd's ignorance. The work has been published recently by the Pashto Academy in Peshawar.¹¹⁵ His second main contribution, *Maqṣūd al-Mu'minīn* (Arabic), seems to point to Ismaili doctrines. His autobiography, the *Hālnāmah*, kept in the Aligarh library lacks, according to Ikrām, authenticity because it has been altered as some pages seem to have been missing. As it was compiled some 70 years after Bāyazīd's death, the existing *Hālnāmah* probably might differ from the original.¹¹⁶ The *Hālnāmah az Bāyazīd Anṣārī* is available with the Pashto Academy Peshawar on microfilm, as well as typed, edited by Muḥliṣ 'Alī Muḥammad. The *Sīrat al-Tawḥīd* (Persian) elaborates especially on the position of the *pīr*. Several other booklets are said to have dealt with the theory of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and mahdism, but there is no proof that they actually ever existed.¹¹⁷

Bāyazīd was particularly responsible for the propagation of the Pashto language and literature. He was the first to compose Pashto prose¹¹⁸ following Arabic and Persian models. This has also been acknowledged by Aḥūnd Darwēza. Bāyazīd's grandson, Mirzā Ḥan Anṣārī (1552-1630 h.), wrote a Pashto *diwān* using the doctrines of *waḥdat al-wujūd*¹¹⁹ and elaborated on them. Besides his literary achievement, Bāyazīd also introduced new elements into Afghan music.¹²⁰

¹¹³ v. Noer: *Akbar*, pp. 239-243.

¹¹⁴ *El*, p. 1123.

¹¹⁵ Published by Qāsimī 'Abd al-Qaddūs in 1967 in the Pashto Academy, Peshawar University.

¹¹⁶ *Taḍkirah-e Ṣūfiyah-e Sarhad*, pp. 193 f. as cited in Ikrām: *Rūd-e kawṭar*, p. 55.

¹¹⁷ These works have not been accessible to me.

¹¹⁸ Cf. also Ikrām: *Rūd-e kawṭar*, pp. 59 f.

¹¹⁹ Ikrām: *Rūd-e kawṭar*, pp. 60 f.; Schimmel: *Mystische Dimensionen*, pp. 564 f. and Ḥasan: *Tahqīb*, p. 314.

¹²⁰ Ikrām: *Rūd-e kawṭar*, pp. 60 ff.

This tradition was particularly fostered by his grandson, Aḥdād.¹²¹

Conclusion

There is no doubt that the Rawṣanī movement was a cultural articulation of Muslims in the north-western region of the Indian subcontinent, displaying new virtues and doctrines spiritually as well as politically hitherto not existing in this area. It displayed eclectic instances in line with the ideas of the contemporary Mughal emperor Akbar and it opposed Mughal hegemony. During its heyday, the movement numbered up to approximately 25,000 members.

The Rawṣanī movement apparently reintroduced the doctrines of *wahdat al-wujūd*. Its unifying proclamations became popular before Sirhindī, Šāh Walī Ullah and Mir Dard became active and before the reformist as well as anti-imperialist *Ṭarīqa Muḥammadiya* gained momentum.

There are also instances that the Rawṣanī movement had some affiliations with the Ḥalwatiya, a very powerful movement in the Ottoman empire and Egypt and parts of Iran - specially Azerbaijan - during the 16th and 17th centuries. This order was very much attacked by the orthodox religious class on matters of theology as its members were considered to have deviated too much from *ṣarī'a* due to their close contact with popular cults and population, as well as their political affiliations with the Shia. They regarded singing and dancing as important as *ḥal-wat*, *chillah* and *dīkr*. Even one of their leaders was called Rawṣan and the order in some areas similarly Rawṣaniya.

It is doubted that Bāyazīd had no contact to the rest of the Islamic world, especially the western part. Samarkand, where he used to go for trade, was a cultural centre of Islamic discourse, particularly of the Naqṣbandiya. On the other hand, Bāyazīd had been inspired by an Ismaili *dā'ī* who had taught him the doctrines of *pīr-e kāmīl* and who by virtue of his theological affiliation himself was very much connected to the Islamic mainlands, Egypt, Iran and the Caucasus. One might presume that there was a cross-cultural network among different cultural regions of the Islamic world. Thus, the Rawṣaniya movement and its leaders were hardly isolated in the mountains of Afghanistan and Pakhtunistan but were part of the tradition of Islamic thought. The fact of the approaching of the second Islamic millennium, as well as the unstable political situation in India in the wake of Mughal conquest, called for a search of new identities. It was understandable that an increasing number of *mahdīs* everywhere proclaimed the leadership and the right to guide people from the dark age to illumination. Even Akbar displayed some of these ideas in his *dīn-e illāhī*. As a *mahdī* movement, the Rawṣaniya recurred on necessary ingredients of chiliasm like *hiḡra*, *ḡihād*, *bait al-*

¹²¹ EI (Urdu edition) 2, p.20.

māl, *igtiḥād* and the Saviour as well as a new *ṣarī'a*. It was a nativistic movement recurring to traditional Islamic patterns. It transcended, however, particular local customs. As a rather anti-imperial movement, it was a source of trouble for the Mughal invaders for a prolonged period.

The movement and its principles opened a spiritual access to reality and furnished the identity of Pakhtun tribes, not only by uniting them for some time but also by giving them a new channel of cultural articulation. This was greatly accepted and later on reflected in the mystical poems of the celebrated Pashto poet Huṣṣāl Ḥān Ḥat't'ak (1613-1689).

The Mughals were only able to integrate the Rawṣāniya when they started to co-opt them and commission them official ranks. This was easily possible since the Rawṣānis were eager to discard the features of the 'brutal ignorant men', as which they are usually depicted in Mughal historiography. This image, as has been stated above, is still popular among some contemporary anthropologists. According to this view, the perception that all non-Rawṣānis could be killed etc., because they were suppressors of Pakhtuns disguised in orthodoxy, was in line with ideas *en vogue* among tribal and hill Pakhtun tribes. Because of their being organized in line with *nang* the reaction against them first came from the *qalang* oriented tribes like the Yusufzais. Nevertheless, one has to bear in mind, that Bāyazīd's followers from *nang* regions first fostered a refined language which then was taken up by Aḥūnd Darwēza in his *Maḥzan al-Islām*. There was also a clash of two main mystical lines, al-Junaid and al-Bistāmī respectively. Both reflected the social order of different tribal regions and social settings. Bāyazīd was able to unite the ever fighting tribes under his charismatic leadership. Even the Yusufzais were part of his movement, before they were attacked by his son 'Umar and consequently reconverted to orthodoxy. Under Jalāl, they were once more committed to this movement, because of its spiritual and nationalistic zeal. Finally, the Yusufzais with Aḥūnd Darwēza and his teacher Abū Sa'īd Tirmidī, alias Pīr Bābā (d. 932 h.), also prepared the ground for opposition among the Pakhtuns against the Mughals. They, thus, stood in rivalry to Bāyazīd and his movement.

To conclude this essay, some striking similarities between the much celebrated but hardly known Sufi reform-movement of the 18th and 19th century, the *Tarīqa Muḥammadiya*¹²² and the Rawṣāniya deserve attention. The Muhammadan Path

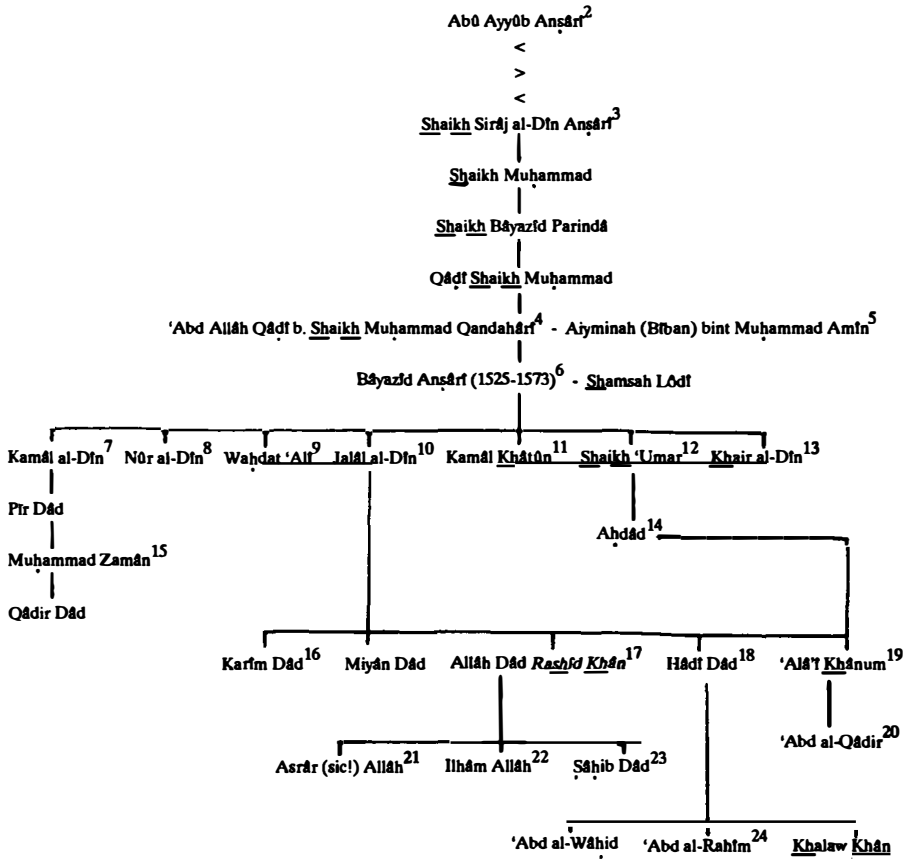
¹²² The aim of this movement was to unite the splitting and decadent *ṭuruq* under one umbrella-organization. It also was politically conscious about the colonial impact. In the Indian environment it was popularized by Šāh Walī Ullah (d. 1762) and his family as well as by Ḥawāja Mir Dard (d. 1785). Its militant form it received with 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 1831) and Sayyid Aḥmad (d. 1831). In north and central Africa as well as in the Hijāz and Najd it was the Moroccan Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Fāsi (d. 1837), whose doctrines became popular. They were

displays the following features: The founders of the *Ṭuruq Muḥammadiya* were mostly initiated by Ḥidr. Hence, the order was based on illumination - *nūr muḥammadī*, of which the founder had become part - rather than on initiation by a recognized master. Accordingly, the *Ṭariqa Muḥammadiya* neither stressed the *silṣila* nor the past history. It aimed at restoring the Muhammadan mystic and society, similar to the fundamentalist approach. It further rejected all other *ṭuruq* and postulated their unification under the *Ṭariqa Muḥammadiya*. The master had the central position and *tawḥīd* with him was necessary (*fanā fi'l šaiḥ*). *Šarī'a* and *taqlīd* as well as *ijmā'* (consensus) were rejected, but *iğtihād*, *hiğra* and *da'wa* were important institutions. Interestingly, the social base of the *Ṭariqa Muḥammadiya* was of nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes. This is particularly true in north Africa, where it most flourished.

Contrasting the Rawṣaniya principles with those given above, one may discover a surprising number of similarities: It was not an ordinary mystical order set up after initiation from a well-known Sufi where the *silṣila* had played a crucial, legitimizing role. Likewise, not *fanā'* (the annihilation) was the aim of this Sufic movement but the establishment of a new - Muhammadan - and just society, which was only achievable through the *quṭb*. The ordinary order further respected the norms of *šarī'a*, rejected *iğtihād* and tolerated other *ṭuruq*. All this was in contrast to the Rawṣaniya as well as to the *Ṭariqa Muḥammadiya*. Although at this stage of research one would not go to the extent of declaring the Rawṣaniya a direct predecessor of the Sufi reform of the 18th century, one may conclude that there was a continuity of Islamic thought: The Sufi order of the Rawṣanis derived some main features from the neighbouring esoteric orders. They drifted into the tradition of mahdism with its charismatic leader and displayed features of the fundamentalist Sufi-reform to come. The movement became popular when the 'tribals were in danger', while the *Ṭariqa Muḥammadiya* became popular at a time when 'Islam was in danger'.

politically and institutionally manifested in several *Ṭuruq Muḥammadiya*, like the Tijāniya, Sanūsīya, Rašīdiya, Mirgāniya, Idrīsiya, Muğaddidiya etc. Their postulations were most probably later taken up by the scriptualist movements of the 19th century. Cf. Schimmel, Annemarie: *Und Muhammad ist Sein Prophet*. - Düsseldorf/Köln 1981, pp. 154, 192 ff.; Rizvi, S.A.A.: *Shāh Walī Allāh and his time*. - Canberra 1980, pp. 343-357; Pearson, Harlan Otto: *Islamic reform and revival in the nineteenth century India: the 'Tariqah-i Muhammadiyah'*. - Durham, Duke University, Ph.D. thesis, 1979; O'Fahey, Rex S. and Karrar, Ali Salih: The enigmatic Imam: The influence of Ahmad Ibn Idris. in: *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 19, 1987, pp. 205-220 and Trimmingham: *Sufi orders*, pp. 105 ff.

- Appendix 1 -

Family Tree of Bāyazīd Anṣārī, leader of Rawṣhaniyya¹

Notes see following pages

- Appendix II -

NOTES

- 1 The family tree is based mainly on the Rawshānī article in EI Urdu, p. 386-392, especially p. 391 and EI¹ (German edition) and EI² (English edition) as well as v. Noer: Op. cit. and Ma'āthir al-umarā'.
- 2 Abū Ayyūb Anṣārī is supposed to be the 21st ancestor; for him see EI², Vol. I, pp. 108 f. He is followed by Shaikhzāda, Shaikh Aḥmad, Shaikh Maṣṣūr Muḥammad, Muḥammad Anṣārī, Khwājā Zāhid, Shaikh Muḥammad, Shaikh Maṣṣūr, Shaikh Khudādād, Shaikh Luqmān, Shaikh Khalīl, Shaikh Shams al-Dīn, Shaikh Da'ūd, Khwājā Maḥmūd, Shaikhzādā Hamza, Shaikh Mawlānā Ibrāhīm Dānishmand, Chirāgh al-Dīn and Shaikh Sirāj al-Dīn Anṣārī (refer Rizvi: Rawshanīyya, Vol. VI, p. 87).
- 3 According to the autobiography of Bāyazūd, the *Hālnāmah*, this was the 5th ancestor.
- 4 According to *Dabistān-e Madhāhib* and Ma'āthir al-umarā', engl. translation, Vol. 2 part 2, p. 595 he was separated by seven generations from Shaikh Sirāj al-Dīn Anṣārī. His other brothers were 'Abd al Raḥmān and Khudādād.
- 5 *Bīban* was the daughter of al-Ḥajj Abā Bakr of Jullandhar. She was the second cousin of 'Abd Allāh.
- 6 The EI¹ (article: Bāyazīd) gives 1581 as year of death, when Jalāl was 14 years, while EI¹ (article: Rawshaniyyah) states 1585. According to Sayyid 'Abd al Ḥayy he died before 989 h.; cf. Nuzhat al Khawāṭir, vol. IV, Lāhawr: Iqbāl Akadēmī, n.d., pp. 68. The Ma'āthir al-umarā', engl. translation, Vol. II, part 2, p. 596, mentions only four sons and one daughter of Bāyazīd: Shaikh 'Umar, Nūr al-Dīn, Jamāl al-Dīn and Jalāl al-Dīn and Kamāl Khātūn; cf. also Ma'āthir al-umarā', Urdu translation, Vol. II, pp. 244-250. Von Noer (p. 217) on the other hand indicates the following: 'Umar, Nūr al-Dīn, Jalāl al-Dīn and Khair al-Dīn.
- 7 Kamāl al-Dīn died in Mughal prison before 1009/1601 (cf. EI Urdu: Rawshānī, p. 389).
- 8 Nūr al-Dīn's son, Mirzā'ī, was a loyal imperial servant and was killed in the battle of Daulatabad (refer Ma'āthir al-umarā', engl. translation, Vol. II, part 2, p. 596) by the Gujjars (cf. v. Noer: Op. cit., p. 217).
- 9 Wahdat 'Alī was imprisoned in 1000/1592. In the Ma'āthir al-umarā' he is identified as son in law of Jalāl al-Dīn, who took the fort of Kanshān with the help of the Yūsufzā'is (engl. translation, Vol. II, part 2, p. 1026, also p. 598).
- 10 Jalāl al-Dīn died in 1009/1600 (cf. EI Urdu: Rawshānī, p. 389). In EI¹ he is identified as Bāyazīd's fifth and youngest son; cf. also Ma'āthir al-umarā', Urdu translation, Vol. II, pp. 246-250.
- 11 Kamāl Khātūn was the only daughter of Bāyazīd. She died prisoner of Qulj Khān (Ma'āthir al-umarā', engl. translation, Vol. II, part 2, p. 596).
- 12 Shaikh 'Umar was the successor and eldest son of Bāyazīd. He was killed by the Yusufzais in 1000/1592 (v. Noer: Op. cit., pp. 216 f.).
- 13 Khair al-Dīn was killed together with his brother 'Umar in 1000/1592 by the Yusufzais (v. Noer: Op. cit., p. 217).
- 14 Aḥdād was the successor, nephew as well as son in law of Jalāl al-Dīn. He was married to Bībī 'Alā'ī, the daughter of Jalāl. After his death in 1035/1625(6) he was succeeded by his son 'Abd al-Qādir, after 1028/1618 his sons as well as his brothers became soldiers in the Mughal army (cf. EI Urdu: Rawshānī, p. 390; the date of his death here is wrongly 1305; Ma'āthir al-umarā', engl. translation, Vol. II, part 2, pp. 598 f, 675 f.).
- 15 Muḥammad Zamān was the cousin of Aḥdād and son in law of Bībī 'Alā'ī or 'Alā'ī Khānum, daughter of Jalāl and wife of Aḥdād (Ma'āthir al-umarā', engl. translation, Vol. II, part 2, p. 599). Sa'īd Khān, who was responsible to subdue the Afghans sent him to Court in 1637 along with Ṣāhib Dād, Qādir Dād, Bībī 'Alā'ī, 'Abd al-Qādir and Rashīd Khān. Later, Muḥammad Zamān and Ṣāhib Dād were given the Robe of Honour by the Emporer (R.C. Varma: The tribal policy of the Mughals, in: Islamic Culture, Vol. XXVI, No. III, July 1952, p. 25).

- Appendix III -

- 16 Karīm Dād was the first son of Jalāl and cousin of Aḥdād. Also opposing the Mughals, he supported the Afghan rebellion in 1633. He surrendered and was executed in 1044/1637 (cf. EI Urdu: Rawshānī, p. 390; Ma'āthir al-umarā', engl. translation, Vol. II, part 2, p. 675 f.). According to Varma he had been won over by the Mughal officer Khān Jahān in 1630 (refer R.C. Varma: The tribal policy, Op.cit., p. 24 f.; Varma states that Karīm Dād was an uncle of Aḥdād!).
- 17 Allāh Dād *Rashīd Khān* was the cousin of Aḥdād and died in 1058/1648. He had been Governor of Nāndair in the Mughal army and was very famous because of his skill and his cleverness and held the rank of 4.000 with 3.000 horses in Deccan. Later he was given the honorable title *Rashīd Khān* (cf. EI Urdu: Rawshānī, p. 390; Ma'āthir al-umarā', engl. translation, Vol. II, part 2, pp. 595 ff. especially pp. 600 ff; also Ma'āthir al-umarā', Urdu translation, Vol. II, pp. 244-252).
- 18 Hādī Dād was officer in the army of Shāhjahān with 2.000 *mansabs* in Telingāne in 1059/1649. He died in 1066/1656 (cf. EI Urdu: Rawshānī, p. 391; Ma'āthir al-umarā', engl. translation, Vol. II, part 2, pp. 601 f) It is said that he was father of some 30 sons; cf. Ma'āthir al-umarā', Urdu translation, Vol. III, pp. 770-771).
- 19 'Alā'ī *Khānum* was sent to court in 1637 and treated well by Shāhjahān who then sent her to *Rashīd Khān*, her elder brother, who was incharge of Telingāna (Ma'āthir al-umarā', engl. translation, Vol. II, part 2, p. 599.).
- 20 'Abd al-Qādir was the son and successor of Aḥdād, who had died in 1625. He had been leader of the Afghan rebellion in the Kabul direction. Later, he was won over by the Mughal officer Khān Jahān with the hand of his daughter (1630) (refer R.C. Varma: The tribal policy, p. 24). He accepted royal service and received the rank of 1.600. He died in 1046/1633 (cf. EI Urdu: Rawshānī, p. 390; Ma'āthir al-umarā', engl. translation, Vol. II, part 2, pp. 598 f. and p. 675)
- 21 The Ma'āthir al-umarā' as well as the EI Urdu: Rawshānī, p. 392, however, mention Asad Allāh, the elder brother of Ilhām Allāh. Asad was officer in the Mughal army and Thānadār of Chāndōr in 1064/1664 (cf. Ma'āthir al-umarā', engl. translation, Vol. II, part 2, pp. 601 f.).
- 22 Ilhām Allāh was also in the Mughal army, holding a rank of 1.500 with 1.500 horses, later 3.000 with 3.000 horses and *Faujdar* of Nāndair. According to the EI Urdu (article: Rawshānī, p. 391) he died in 1057 h. This is however quite unlikely since he succeeded his uncle Hādī Dād, who died in 1066/1656. According to Ma'āthir al-umarā', he passed away in the 19th year of Aurangzeb's reign = 1688 (for his biography, refer also Ma'āthir al-umarā', engl. translation, Vol. 2 part 2, pp. 601 f; Ma'āthir al-umarā', Urdu translation, Vol. II, pp. 307-308).
- 23 Ṣāhib Dād was the son in law of Bibi 'Alā'ī or 'Alā'ī *Khānum* (Ma'āthir al-umarā', engl. translation, Vol. 2 part 2, p. 599).
- 24 'Abd al-Rahīm became famous as an officer in the Moghul army.